

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
 562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.²¹

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
 585 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
 [601] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qbz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
 852 girls were trained by their mothers.²² Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levašin notes²³ that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information²⁴ it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
 [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov²⁵ further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

²¹ See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.

²² See also Grodekov, *Kirgiz i Karakirgiz*, 33.

²³ *Description des hordes*, 376-77.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, 36.

²⁵ *Kirgiz i Karakirgiz*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152-53.

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children were entitled to shares in the distribution of the father's property as were his⁵⁹⁷ own offspring. Grodekoy, however, remarks⁵⁹ that the adopted son may leave his foster family whenever he wishes or the foster father may cast him out, suggesting that the tie may not have been so close as that between blood parents and children. In extreme cir-⁵⁹³ cumstances, however, it was also possible for a father to disown his real son. The father was the indisputable head of the family as reflected in the Kazak proverb: "A son before his father is like a slave before his master."⁵⁷

EXOAMY

The question of the exogamous unit in Kazak society is of crucial importance in defining⁵⁸² the concept of the uru and the nature of social groupings.

My informants agreed that a man might not marry a girl of his own uru, but when one endeavors to discover in exactly what sense the term uru is used in this connection, difficulties develop. Tlenashiev declared that one might not marry a girl with whom one had a common male ancestor within seven generations. "Beyond seven fathers," he said, "it will be another uru." This of course opens up a new concept of the uru, mathematically determined for the purposes of exogamy as comprising all those related through seven generations in the male line. Such a classification would not correspond to any of the named groups. It would be possible, according to the informants, for a man of the Davlet uru to marry a Davlet girl provided the requirements of seven generation exogamy made it possible. Such a situation, however, seems to have occurred rarely. The informants agreed that such marriages were theoretically permissible, but were unable to give any specific instances.

In principle this system of exogamy agrees with information from other sources, although there appears to have been considerable variation in the exact number of generations which defined the prohibited group. Grodekoy writes:⁵⁸

Marriage occurs between the ordas, tribes and gentes as far as the seventh ancestor; that is, to the seventh generation of ancestors reckoning in the male line, or, according to some opinions to the fourth and even third generation.

He adds that

... among the Kara-kirghiz marriage may be concluded as far as the fifth generation. At the present time they marry even closer, even to the second generation, which they condemn with the words "You are violating *taq*" [the customary law] but they do not dissolve the marriage and do not punish the participants. The mullah Asan [one of Grodekoy's informants] declares "Formerly among the Kara-kirghiz they married, as among the Kazaks, a bride from the seventh generation, now they take her from the third, and are even beginning to marry from the second generation, in conformity with the shariat [Mohammedan law]...."

⁵⁷ Op. cit., 37.

⁵⁸ Grodekoy, *Kirgiz i Kara-kirgiz*, 33.

⁵⁹ *Kirgiz i Kara-kirgiz*, 27.

582 This tendency to reduce the prohibited degrees of relationship was also apparent, according to my informants, among the Kazak, where cases of marriage within four or five generations of descent from the common ancestor were not unusual. The influence of Mohammedan law, whose incest prohibitions²⁹ are generally similar to those laid down in the book of Leviticus,³⁰ is, as indicated by Grodekov's informant quoted above, probably responsible for this tendency.

Dingelstedt³¹ says that marriage was ordinarily forbidden within six generations of relationship, while Karutz³² states that the prohibition extended as far as ten generations. Rudenko³³ describes the *sök* as defined by blood relationship "as far as seven fathers" but does not assign any functions, exogamic or otherwise, to such a group.

No mention of the generation principle of exogamy is made by Samollovich.³⁴ His informant is described as belonging to the Kipchak tribe;³⁵ Toru-aingyr³⁶ clan; Shashty sub-clan; Boshai branch; Zhanai sub-branch. Samollovich writes: "At the present time the limits within which it is forbidden for Chokaev's [the informant's] family to marry are defined as all those belonging to the sub-clan Shashty."

Such a condition makes exogamy a function of the uru groups in the genealogical sense of the term but does not make it clear which strata of uru subdivisions are involved where, as in the case of the Naiman groups³⁷ there may be a dozen or more gradations.

A solution of the contradictions in principle between exogamy as determined by generations and as determined by membership in an uru group is suggested in an incidental remark by Grodekov.³⁸ After stating that marriage is permitted only between those separated by seven generations of ancestors he writes significantly:

In connection with each courtship they do not reckon how many generations have come after the common ancestor of both parties, but what sub-tribes can conclude marriages among themselves since they represent seven or more generations from the common ancestor. [*Italics mine.*]

This observation is supported by the fact that none of my informants could give the names of his seven actual ancestors. Beyond the grandfather or great-grandfather personal genealogies were merged with uru genealogies. Such a concept, it may be noted, is in accordance

²⁹ Holy Quran, 4:23.

³⁰ The Bible: Leviticus 18:3-18.

³¹ *Le Droit coutumier*, 190.

³² *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 99.

³³ *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59.

³⁴ *Zapretnye Slova*, 162-63.

³⁵ The designations as "tribe," "clan," etc., are my translations for the Russian terms used by Samollovich. He himself states, as quoted above, that the application of such terminology to Kazak subdivisions is misleading.

³⁶ In citing this case Czaplicka (*Turks of Central Asia*, 42) has made an error in transcription, writing "Toru-aingyr" for "Toru-aingyr" and "Shashli" for "Shashty."

³⁷ Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, chart facing 334.

³⁸ *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28.

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with the traditional origin of the uru as descended from a son of the progenitor of the parent 582
 uru in the next higher stratum.

The custom of avoidance and the prohibition on the wife's using the names of her husband and his relatives might be expected to aid in defining more clearly the actual exogamic unit but here the evidence is again contradictory. 531

The elaborate circumlocutions necessitated by the name prohibition have received more attention than the question of the group to which it is applied.³⁹ Il'minskii, who apparently first reported the fact, states:⁴⁰

A daughter-in-law may not call by name the relatives of the husband If someone from the husband's family is known by the name of some object, the daughter-in-law must apply to that object some other word composed of sounds that will be understood by all.

Grodekov⁴¹ describes a similar prohibition as applying to " . . . the husband's relatives and all his line as far as the extent of the gens into which marriage has taken place" Radlov⁴² reports that the wife must not use the name of an object which is similar to the name " . . . eines älteren Verwandten." Rudenko⁴³ says that a young woman going to live in the aul of her husband gives to " . . . all the relatives of her husband, men, women and children . . . " a new name by which she calls them. "If she is clever and observant such names are very descriptive of personal appearance or characteristics and soon are popularized. Thus every Kazak has two names: a real one and his nickname."

The most complete account of the name prohibition, and the only one which defines the limits of its application, is that of Samoilovich.⁴⁴ As mentioned above, his informant is described as belonging to the "Kipchak tribe, Toru-aiingyr clan, Shashty sub-clan, Bozhai branch and Zhanai sub-branch," and the group from which he might not take a wife was comprised of all those belonging to the Shashty "sub-clan." (Presumably there were other branches and sub-branches standing in the same relation to Shashty as did Bozhai and Zhanai.) Within the limits of Shashty a wife might not call by name, either to his face or in his absence, her husband, nor males older than her husband, nor, likewise, the wives and children of those older than her husband. Instead she used the proper kinship term. However, this prohibition was somewhat circumvented by the use of conventionalized substitute names; for example, a woman might address a husband's kinsman named "Akhmet" as "Sakhmet" or one named "Ali" as "Sali." The name prohibition might in some cases apply to individuals in other groups who happened to bear the same name as the husband or his relatives. Such individuals the wife might address as "namesake of my husband" or "namesake of my father-in-law."

³⁹ Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480-81; Samoilovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 40; Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 85.

⁴⁰ Il'minskii, *Materialy k Izucheniui Kirgizskogo Narechiia*, 191.

⁴¹ *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 100.

⁴² *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480-81.

⁴³ *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 99, note 3.

⁴⁴ *Zapretnye Slova*, 162-65.

- 551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition: My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the *ylken yj* (father's house) and the several *otav* (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoilovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoilovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.⁴⁵

Levashin, in a footnote,⁴⁶ says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

- 606 Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov⁴⁷ says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.⁴⁸ My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

- 582 Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

- 836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the *kalym* (bride price) by her father. Levashin⁴⁹ says that to the bridal tent

... on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe ... s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

⁴⁵ Here again there is a conflict. Godekov writes (*Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 38-39) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kirgabaev said this frequently occurred.

⁴⁶ *Description des hordes*, 396.

⁴⁷ *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

⁴⁸ See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 251.

⁴⁹ *Description des hordes*, 361-62.

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majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.⁸⁵

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very early age. Rudenko⁸⁶ states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore⁸⁷ also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.⁸⁸ The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov⁸⁹ says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.⁹⁰

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz⁹¹ declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.⁹² According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levahin suggests⁹³ that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

⁸⁵ See also Levahin, *Description des hordes*, 358.

⁸⁶ Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakou, 48.

⁸⁷ Lattimore (E.), *Turkistan Reunion*, 268.

⁸⁸ See below, pages 53-54.

⁸⁹ Kirgizy i Karakirgizy, 54.

⁹⁰ See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.

⁹¹ Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 98-99.

⁹² Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.

⁹³ *Description des hordes*, 358.

565 His view may, however, have been correct insofar as the term White Bone perhaps tended to lose a strict meaning and came to be applied rather loosely to distinguished individuals in general. There is some evidence for this in the inclusion of Mohammedan holy men among those considered White Bones. Levshin writes:⁶ "Les zélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe [White Bone] les khodjas [qoqa in Kazak] ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane."

There appear to have been at least two varieties of those who were considered White Bones by virtue of their place in the Mohammedan hierarchy. In addition to the qoqa Grodekov⁷ mentions the seyid as "descendants of the son of Hussein⁸ . . . and consequently the greatest of the qoqas." He adds that there were few of them among the Kazak.⁹ My informants were familiar with these terms but unable to distinguish between them; Kargabaiev said there was no difference between them; they were all priests. Tlenshiev thought that a qoqa might have been also a medical practitioner and surgeon. Begaliev and Gavrilov¹⁰ define qoqa not very helpfully as a "representative of the privileged class," with no ecclesiastical connotations. Grodekov¹¹ mentions that the qoqa lived in tents near permanent settlements, took up agriculture and quickly became sedentary.

565 582 The White Bones proper, the descendants of the khans of the Karak ordas as well as those claiming descent from Chingis and the Abbasid caliphs¹² were called tare.¹³ The extent to which they can be considered as a rigidly defined caste is uncertain. My informants at first denied that intermarriage between White and Black Bones ever took place but later we were able to find instances of its having occurred. Tlenshiev was unable to say whether the children of such marriages would be considered as belonging to the White or Black Bones and finally decided they would occupy a midway position. Grodekov indicates that there was no obstacle to marriages between the two classes¹⁴ and mentions that the term sultan¹⁵ was applied to a person whose father and mother were both of the White Bone, which suggests that Tlenshiev's estimate of the position of the offspring of mixed marriages may be correct. Levshin¹⁶ also contrasts a "pur kost blanc" with a "kost blanc mêlé" whose mother came from the common people. Jochelson, however,¹⁷ without giving his source, says that marriage between White and Black Bones was regarded as a disgrace for the former.

⁶ *Description des hordes*, 304.

⁷ *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

⁸ Hussein: the grandson of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin.

⁹ See also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621-22.

¹⁰ *Kazakhsko-Russkii Slovar'*, 185.

¹¹ *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

¹² Abbasid: the Mohammedan dynasty claiming descent from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, which reigned in Bagdad from 750 to 1258, when they were overthrown by the Mongols.

¹³ Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146-47; also Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakhsko-Russkii Slovar'*, 241.

¹⁴ Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146-47.

¹⁵ *Description des hordes*, 305.

¹⁶ *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

/27/ CHAPTER III.

602 Degrees of kinship. - The authority of the parents. - Age of majority. - The clan of the mother. - Adoption. - Guardianship. - Blood brotherhood.

An unknown person receives questions first of all about his clan (Ne el sen? Syuyaging ne?). If the inquirer is of the same clan, then he asks about the lineage, then the sublineage, etc., down to the group, after which the direct descending list of the ancestors begins. Each is supposed to know his ancestors. "He who does not know seven ancestors is a backslider," says the proverb (yete atasyn bil'megen murted). (1) These inquiries serve as a testimonial of the

1. We were able to ascertain more than once that even children aged 10-11 knew their seven ancestors exactly.

individual. Guests are received graciously or rudely on the basis of the recognized degree of kinship. Kinship is reckoned, as they say, to the fortieth degree.

48 Transfer from one clan to another is impossible, but living and nomadizing with a strange clan is permitted.

582 Marriages are concluded between hordes, clans, lineages, etc. to the seventh "ancestor", i. e., the seventh degree of kinship inclusively, by the male line (2), and in the opinion of several people, to

2. Matchmaking takes place when seven ancestors have passed (yete ata utkensong). If anyone has a love relationship with a person more closely related than this degree of kinship, he is banished from the society (yurttan chygarady).

Communication of bii Khalmakhammed, Chimkent uyezd.

the fourth and even the third degree. Among the Kirgiz, according to the statement of bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, marriages are concluded to the fifth generation. At the present time, closer relatives marry, even from the second generation, for which they are reproached by the words: "You are spoiling the customary law." But they do not dissolve the marriage and do not impose a penalty. (3) Mullah Asan

3. In the Svanetiya "Even those whose kinship is reckoned at the twelfth degree cannot enter into marriage." (Vestnik Evropy, August, 1886).

confirms this: "Earlier, among the Kirgiz as well as /28/ the Kazakhs, 582 brides were taken from the seventh generation; now they choose from the third degree, and are even beginning to choose them from the second degree, in accordance with the Shariat. Manaps and the simple people do not differ in this. "

They do not calculate at every matchmaking how many generations (ata) have passed since the common ancestor of both parties, for it is always known which lineages can conclude marriages between each other (kyz alyady), since they represent the seventh or further generations of a common ancestor. It is equally well known which lineages and sublineages cannot conclude marriages, (kyz alyspaidy), because fewer than seven generations have passed since their division. Between lineages which cannot intermarry, it is not acceptable to answer each other in singing at a wedding.

The reason why the Kazakhs do not take brides from a closer degree of kinship is, first of all, that with close marriages there would be embarrassment between the boys and girls of one village, and there would be no restraint against their having intimate relations (oy nasady), and secondly, in such marriages there are few children (tukhmi usmeidi, "their family does not grow") (1), and also the husband does not love

1. The same motives restrain the Kanak in New Caledonia from choosing a bride from their village: Jamais un Canaque n'épousera une femme de son village. Ils disent qu'en se mariant entre eux, ce sang s'appauvrit, tandis qu'en prenant une femme d'un autre village ou même d'une autre tribu, il s'améliore; et puis, de cette manière on se fait des alliés en cas de guerre ou de querelles. (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 3. trimestre 1886. Aperçu général sur la Nouvelle Calédonie, par Octave Opigez, p. 437).

the wife (syuimeidi), and it is reported (nakl bar) that he is usually weak in the sexual relation (urgachiga kemkuvat bulady). Bii Sultan Kanaev adds that this is why the biis established (tokhtarkan) the present order of more distant matchmaking, in conference with each other (akylaskan) and not breaking the Shariat (shariatka kaby1).

Kinship in the female line does not obstruct marriage, with certain exceptions.

It is impossible for a father to marry a mother, when a son has married her daughter, and vice versa.

Two sisters are not married to two brothers. Brides /Inserted

582 page. Picture. Caption: The Kirgiz manap mullah Asan Dzhangel' din, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. / 29/ of two brothers must be no more closely related than the third degree of kinship.

Sisters may marry two first cousins, but even this is not done eagerly, and they say it would be better to establish a bond in two places rather than in one (eki tamyrdi br tamyr kylmaimyz).

It is impossible to marry your step-sister (not your own-ugei), from the same father but another mother, and vice versa. It is impossible to marry a step-daughter, whether a maiden or a widow. (1)

1. "Anyone who did that would become an infidel /Kafir/" cried bii Khamahammed.

2 [Picture not reproduced - A]

582
587 A widow may marry a step-son, born by another wife of her late husband. A widow does not marry her father-in-law, but she does marry his brother. A daughter cannot marry the brother of her father's wife, but she can marry his son.

It is impossible to marry one's step-mother (ugei sheshe). If a widow with her son goes over to the older or younger brother of her husband, who was already married earlier, and if he also dies, then a son can marry his widow, i. e., his own step-mother, as Torgai expresses it, by the Shariat, but not by customary law. If the wife of the uncle does not become one's step-mother, then one can marry her also according to customary law (Torgai).

According to Khamahammed, Chimkent uyezd, it is impossible to marry the son's widow /or/ the wife's mother. The son of one wife can marry the step-daughter of his father by another wife.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, Pt. 1, p. 2, this bii finds that "two brothers can marry two sisters, or one can marry the mother, and the other the daughter. Sultan Abulfaiz, of the Chimkent uyezd, says the same thing, stating that he has encountered examples of it.

To marry the sister of one's step-mother is considered reprehensible, although this does happen for love. The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov says that such a marriage is illicit.

/30/ The sister-in-law, the sister of the brother's wife, is considered the blood sister until the death of the brother. Therefore it is impossible to marry her until this time.

587 It is impossible to marry the wife's sister (baldyz), as long as the wife is living.

After the death of a wife, the husband demands her sister for himself in marriage, if she is still unspoken for, or her kinswoman, with the payment of a bride price minus 6 head of livestock from

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

587

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

582
[565]

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissible.

* * *

601

The kinship terms in Kazakh:

Father - ake (ata in Sart).

Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).

Step-father - ugei ake.

Step-mother - ugei sheshe.

Son - ul.

Daughter - kyz.

/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.

Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.

Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).

Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).

Elder sister - apa.

Younger sister of a man - kiryndas (singli in Sart).

Younger sister of a woman - singli.

Grandfather, father's father - baba.

Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.

Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.

Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her
608 child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe" like the real mother.

* * *

884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as
884 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was
582 spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidı eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese'adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15."

Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, let us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan.

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property allotted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption.

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

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Touching the breast of the adoptive mother is a symbol that she considers the adopted one on an equal with her own children, whom she nursed, although she did not nurse him.

The adopted one is usually not considered as close as the true child, although he may gain more affection than the true children by his spiritual qualities and his services. The same can be said of adopted slaves.

When they wish to reject the adopted one, they give him an allotment only of inchi or only of kalym. In extreme cases it is enough to give him a horse for his departure. On the request of the adopted one, the aksakas may request the father not to reject his foster child without a serious offense (Perovsk uyezd). The adopted one, on his part, can always go away to his clan at any time.

The clan does not change through adoption, at any rate not now.

[587]

According to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov, the adopted child (inchiles bala), coming from a clan and lineage with which marriage is permissible, can under no circumstances enter into marriage with those who have adopted him. This includes not only the family, but also the close relatives of this family. He is considered as a true son of the adopter and has a right to the name and the inheritance on an equal with the lawful children.

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After the death of the father, even though the mother is living, one of the close kinsmen takes the place of the father for the protection of the orphans (yetim), and the wards nomadize together with him.

This guardianship is not juridical but patriarchal, for which reason also there are rarely used words signifying the guardian: miraskhur, miras, mira(1), and according to Daulet Bushaev - vasy.

1. On hearing the word "mirasy" meaning "his guardian" they took the sy for a suffix and began to use "mira". Actually, the Arabic miras means inheritance, and miraskhur, the receiver of the inheritance. Among the Kazakhs these same words have received the meaning of guardian.

/39/ If no one remains alive in the tent but the successor, who is not of age, then he moves with all his property to the nearest kinsman (Perovsk uyezd). To this last kinsman other kinsmen come

and take what they need of the orphan's property, saying "when you eat (1) why shouldn't I eat?" (sen yegende men yemeyminbe?) (Torgai). 429

1. To eat is the equivalent of to use.

Only when the closest kinsman is completely unsuitable to be a guardian, then by demand of the remaining relatives, a bii or aksakal appoints another, if possible a close kinsman, or to speak more precisely, they do not appoint but give the minor into his hands.

In the absence of men, a woman is invited to be the guardian, the mother or a close kinswoman, for although women are bought by a kalym, in likeness to property, and although oaths are not sworn from the woman's side, it is not denied that they have a mind (akl), or otherwise they would not be allowed to give testimony in court. When male relatives are not to be found, women are themselves considered guardians. Outside aksakals are invited to be guardians only in the most extreme cases. In general, the guardian is usually of a relationship no further than the seventh degree.

Also the very close kinsman of the killed man, who presents the claim for the wergeld, or he who defends the rights of the deceased when there is no very close kinsman, and takes his place, is designated as guardian.

When the mother marries a kinsman of her dead husband, the children remain with her. But when the mother goes to a new husband of a strange clan, then the children remain under the guardianship of the former relatives.

The insane, cripples, etc., are not deprived of their property. Their closest kinsmen are considered their guardians. Even though they cannot earn their own subsistence, they are given wives without breaking the rule that the sons are married in order of seniority.

/40/ For minor sons (up to 15 years approximately), their guardians intercede on their behalf.

A girl must have the consent of her guardian to marry, if he is a kinsman. If he is not, she must have the consent of her closest kinsman. The guardian who is not a kinsman can only advise his ward, the groom or the bride, to defer the payment of the kalym until the spring when the number of livestock is doubled. The nearest relative can refuse his consent to a marriage which is desired by the guardian and the children themselves. The guardian is not forbidden to marry his female ward, with the observation of the usual rules. For example, when he is a close kinsman, he cannot marry within the forbidden 429 582

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degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative"

[582]

rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

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When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyr's alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the bii calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the bii of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razykyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

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Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan berib alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

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There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

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1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unallotted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

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Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

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Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25. 582

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price. 586 836

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betrothed has a child, she is considered the wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depending on the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents. 588

After the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his brother and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman, which proves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan 589

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[431] gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones, such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particular racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for himself. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

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● 582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

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[565] These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

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[622] Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.¹

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[690] Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.²

¹Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Allyn-Smith, 1870, p. 104.

²[for footnote see cat. 116, §. 41 - ANALYST.]

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.³

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense: the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.⁴ A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.⁵

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

³Yaroslav, 1897, pp. 5, 11.

⁴Redloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.

⁵Karata (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.¹

621 Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the
[114] family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. [564] Rich auls were small; with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.²

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.³ Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [583] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

[593] As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. [181] Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles. [177]

¹USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.

²Rudenko et al, 1930, p. 311.

³Samoilovich, in Rudenko et al, 1930.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectively moved as a unit into the Soviet era.

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons.

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system.

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect.

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the

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[Great Horde]

000 conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

622 The bii¹ moreover had important functions in regulat-
 582 ing marriage settlements, although he had little authority
 692 over the family of the bride, if for example, it should
 alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on
 the bride.⁹² The reason for this is clear: the family
 of the bride had a different set of consanguineal rela-
 tionships, she belonged to another lineage, another vil-
 lage (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another
bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further func-
 tioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its
 effect on the authority of the local elders and judges,
 delimiting their power according to the extent of their
 agnatic kin.

622 Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th
 611 century, when strong acculturative influences were insti-
 177 tuted, the principle of descent in the paternal line con-
 63 tinued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great
 632 Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts
 692 called volosti, which were in turn divided into still
 smaller units. According to Israsteov, the influence
 of the bii¹ seldom extended beyond the smaller division
 of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely
 extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

⁹² Israsteov, 82.

* [i.e. elder, cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia p. 411 ff.

-- Analyst]

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[Little Horde.]

614 lationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

613 The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle; the lineage is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit, and a corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

612 In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only in a family which shared a common ancestor in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report of the 1870's. 179
Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

512 The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the
613 eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of

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[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

582
643 exogamy around the turn of the century. It was forbidden to take a wife from one's own kin group. According to Karuts, all the Kasakhs on Mangyshlak peninsula at this time were descended from a certain Adai who migrated to Mangyshlak from the northern part of the territory of the Little Horde. Adai had two sons, Kudaike and Kelembede, who were the founders respectively of two exogamous lineages, of which Kudaike's was the senior in rank. Karuts's informant was descended in the tenth generation from Kelembede, and hence was in the cadet lineage and had to seek a wife among the women descended from Kudaike.¹⁸⁰ A case might be made out for the analysis of this kin structure as a sib; indeed the Adai descent-group is typologically transitional between lineage and sib; but the sub-lineages are ranked, exogamous, and the basis for both ranking and exogamy is a detailed genealogy. Exogamy here is not on the basis of name alone; hence the classification as lineage and the implied clan structure.

The requirement to take a wife removed in the tenth degree from oneself is the most extreme rule of exogamy found among the Kasakhs. It can only be regarded as the result of special conditions operating: a group of people who had migrated to a new locality had preserved the unity of the group intact over eleven generations, re-

¹⁸⁰Karuts, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

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[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history
 582 of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire
 group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal
 patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic
 [101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little
 Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the
 Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the
 Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately
 to the east and south; the very isolation tended to sta-
 bilize the internal group relations over time, making
 for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal line-
 age and minimal lineage structures here described. We
 [616] may note in passing that something approaching a moiety
 situation is implied by the report,¹ but we do not know
 whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking
 wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretic-
 ally may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage
 equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages,
 and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is depend-
 ent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukai
 Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another
 structural principle of steppe society, that of forma-
 tion by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage
 ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

¹[cf. cat. 116, ANI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

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[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

584 On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the cen-
 ● 582 tury, the betrothal was usually arranged while the pro-
 spective pair were still children, between three and
 eight years of age.¹⁸⁸ The marriage itself did not take
 place for several years, until the children were ten or
 eleven years old at the earliest, including leviratic
 marriage.¹⁸⁹ The general tendency in marriage, however,
 was for it to take place between the ages of thirteen
 to fifteen years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere
 in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand,
 it might wait until the couple were twenty years old.¹⁹⁰

556 There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs
 584 and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and
 the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary
 for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.¹⁹¹
 However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire
 a wealthy family connection, it might seek for a wife
 for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would
 then have to be delayed considerably until the entire
kalya, or a major portion of it, had been paid.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸Karuts, op. cit., 37.

¹⁸⁹Altynsarin, 101.

¹⁹⁰Plotnikov, 123-124.

¹⁹¹Karuts, op. cit., 37.

¹⁹²Plotnikov, loc. cit.